

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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O 131337Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4745
INFO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KABUL IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

FOR UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM

LONDON PASS NYE

E.O.11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: MNUC PK FR TECH
SUBJ: PAKISTAN REPROCESSING

REF: (A) STATE 176293; (B) ISLAMABAD 6654; (C) NEW
DELHI 10588; (D) TEHRAN 6529; (E) TEHRAN 6511

1. SUMMARY. DELAY IN JACOMET'S VISIT TO ISLAMABAD
PERMITTED US TO HAVE LENGTHY DISCUSSION WITH HIM ON
TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY, JULY 11 AND 12. HE DID VISIT
TEHRAN JULY 10 WITHOUT NOTEWORTHY RESULT. HE HAS A
MEETING MONDAY, JULY 17, WITH AGHA SHAHI. HIS APPROACH
TO THE GOP AT THAT MEETING AS HE RELATED IT TO EMBOFF
IS OUTLINED BELOW. BRIEFLY HE WILL PROPOSE STOPPING
CONSTRUCTION BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT; IF NOT ACCEPTED, HE
WILL SAY FRANCE WILL NOT SHIP ANY MORE SENSITIVE

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EQUIPMENT AND WILL BRING HOME ITS ON-SITE TECHNICIANS
(A FRENCH-DESIGNED APPROACH TO PERMIT MAXIMUM FACE-
SAVING FOR BOTH AND NO FURTHER FRENCH PARTICIPATION -
BUT LACKS THE CLEAN CUT OF CONTRACT CANCELLATION).
WE STRESSED WITH JACOMET IMPORTANCE OF HIS CLEARLY
TELLING GOP THAT FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN THE CONTRACT
WAS STOPPING. JACOMET IS APPARENTLY UNDER INSTRUCTION

FROM SOUTOU TO NOT MEET WITH NEWSOM IN ISLAMABAD, BUT JACOMET WOULD WELCOME ANY HELPFUL INFORMATION FROM NEWSOM PASSED THROUGH US AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS. SOUTOU HAS FURTHER INSTRUCTED JACOMET TO BE IN PARIS FOR THE JULY 21 MEETING WITH NEWSOM. END SUMMARY.

2. RE REF A, PARA 4, WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED THE OBJECTIVES OF THESE INSTRUCTIONS DURING THESE DISCUSSIONS WITH JACOMET. WHEN JACOMET ADVISED HE DID NOT WISH TO MEET WITH NEWSOM, WE TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO PRESS NEED FOR CLEAR MESSAGE TO PAKS ON NO FURTHER FRENCH PARTICIPATION AND BEST EFFORTS TO URGE PAKS TO NOT COMPLETE PLANT. WE DID NOT SHARE NEWSOM'S SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS WITH JACOMET; HOWEVER, MUCH OF THE SUBSTANCE, SUCH AS POTENTIAL USG ASSISTANCE, HAS BEEN DISCUSSED PREVIOUSLY WITH JACOMET.

3. FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY OF JULY 11 AND 12 DISCUSSIONS WITH JACOMET.

A. JACOMET OUTLINED HIS APPROACH WHICH HE WILL MAKE TO AGHA SHAHI ON MONDAY, JULY 17. HE WILL BEGIN BY HIGHLIGHTING THE CONVICTION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, PARTICULARLY PRESIDENT GISCARD, HAS FOR NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES. HE WILL REVIEW THE EXCHANGES HE HAS HAD WITH THE GOP WHEREIN HE FIRST PROPOSED TO THE PAKS
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TO AMEND THE PLANT TO ADD CO-PROCESSING WHICH THEY REJECTED. THEN THE PAKS WERE ASKED TO CONSIDER THE APPARENT CO-PROCESSING WHICH WAS ALSO REJECTED. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE GOF, THERE APPEARS TO BE NO OTHER RATIONALE TO THESE REJECTIONS THAN THAT THE GOP WANTS TO HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO HAVE PLUTONIUM FOR USE IN NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICES. HE WILL THEN SAY THAT THE GOF HAS DECIDED THAT IT CAN NOT PARTICIPATE IN CONTRIBUTING TO THIS OBJECTIVE AND THUS NEGOTIATIONS ARE AT AN IMPASSE. THE FRENCH, THEREFORE, PROPOSE NOW THAT THERE BE A COMMON AGREEMENT TO STOP FURTHER WORK ON THE RE-PROCESSING PLANT. FOR THE /RENCH THIS WOULD MEAN NO FURTHER SHIPMENTS OF SENSITIVE MATERIALS FOR THE PLANT AND NO FURTHER TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PLANT. FOR THE PAKS IT WOULD MEAN AN INDEFINITE SUSPENSION OF WORK ON THE PLANT WITH ACTUAL CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITIES CEASING IN THE NEAR FUTURE AT A REASONABLE STOPPING POINT (WITHIN 3, 4 OR 5 MONTHS JACOMET MENTIONED). JACOMET WOULD CONTINUE BY SAYING THAT THE ONGOING INFCE STUDY AND OTHER STUDIES OVER THE NEXT FEW

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YEARS WILL BETTER DESCRIBE THE MINIMUM SAFEGUARDS AND
ARRANGEMENTS NECESSARY FOR EFFECTIVE NON-PROLIFERATION
OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND AT THAT POINT THE GOF AND THE GOP
COULD CONSIDER THE FUTURE OF THE REPROCESSING PLANT.
IN THE MEANTIME THE GOF WAS PREPARED TO WORK WITH THE
GOP IN DEVELOPING ITS ENERGY NEEDS THROUGH COMMERCIAL
LIGHT WATER REACTORS.

B. IF THE PAKS DO NOT ACCEPT THIS FRENCH PROPOSAL
(WHICH JACOMET BELIEVES WILL BE THE CASE), JACOMET WILL
URGE THE PAKS TO CONSIDER WELL THE ASSISTANCE FOR PAK
ECONOMIC AND CONVENTIONAL MILITARY DEVELOPMENT THAT COULD
BE AVAILABLE WHEN WORK ON THE PLANT IS STOPPED. HE WILL
MENTION THE US POTENTIAL ASSISTANCE WHICH IS NOW HELD
UP BY THE LEGAL RESTRAINT OF THE GLENN AMENDMENT. HE
WANTS TO MENTION POTENTIAL IRANIAN ASSISTANCE (HE
AWAITS OK FROM TEHRAN TO SAY THIS). HE WILL ALSO ADD
THAT THE GOF IS PREPARED TO SUPPLY A NUCLEAR REACTOR AND
CERTAIN CONVENTIONAL MILITARY HARDWARE (HE WILL MAKE NO
MENTION OF FINANCIAL SOURCES FOR THE FRENCH EQUIPMENT).

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C. IF AT THIS POINT THE PAKS REJECT THE ENTIRE FRENCH PROPOSAL AND, PROBABLY, THREATEN TO PUBLICLY DENOUNCE THE FRENCH FOR RENEGING ON THE CONTRACT, JACOMET'S RESPONSE WILL BE THAT THE FRENCH WILL MAKE PUBLIC THEIR SEVERAL PROPOSALS TO THE PAKS FOR AMENDING THE PLANT AND, AS THESE WERE REJECTED, IT IS OBVIOUS TO ALL THAT THE GOP WANTS PLUTONIUM FOR NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES AND THUS FRANCE COULD ONLY CANCEL ITS FURTHER PARTICIPATION IN THE PROJECT. IF THE PAKS REJECT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL AND SAY THAT THEY WILL PROCEED ON THEIR OWN, JACOMET WILL SAY THAT IT IS THE FIRM DECISION OF THE GOF THAT IT WILL NO LONGER PARTICIPATE IN THE PROJECT, NO FURTHER SHIPMENTS OF SENSITIVE MATERIALS AND ITS TECHNICIANS WILL RETURN TO FRANCE.

D. EMBOFF QUESTIONED JACOMET ON THE EVENT THAT THE GOP LISTENS TO THE FRENCH PROPOSAL TO STOP THE PLANT BY COMMON AGREEMENT AND LISTENS TO THE POINTS ABOUT POTENTIAL ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE WHEN THE PLANT WORK STOPS, BUT IN RESPONSE ASKS TO HAVE A FEW WEEKS TO CONSIDER THE MATTER. IN THAT EVENT WILL JACOMET HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE GOF IS STOPPING ITS PART IN THE PROJECT? JACOMET SAID THAT HE WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER GOF PARTICIPATION. EMBOFF EMPHASIZED THAT IT WAS MOST IMPORTANT THAT THE GOP CLEARLY UNDERSTAND THAT FRANCE WAS STOPPING ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE PROJECT; WITHOUT A VERY CLEAR FRENCH DECISION AND ACTION TO STOP ITS PARTICIPATION, THE USG COULD NOT BEGIN TO CONSIDER ITS ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN. JACOMET SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THIS POINT VERY WELL AND WOULD KEEP IT IN MIND DURING HIS DISCUSSIONS.

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E. JACOMET MAY SPEND A FEW DAYS IN ISLAMABAD, BUT, HE SAID, HE HAS STRICT ORDERS TO BE IN PARIS FOR THE MEETING WITH NEWSOM ON JULY 21. SOUTOU (WITH JACOMET'S HELP) WILL REPORT TO THE USG AT THAT TIME ON THE STATUS OF THIS PROJECT. JACOMET INDICATED THAT SOUTOU WOULD TEEN (I ALL GOES WELL) BE IN A POSITION TO TELL THE USG THAT THE GOF WAS OUT OF THE REPROCESSING BUSINESS IN PAKISTAN.

F. ON THE MATTER OF THE OVERLAP OF JACOMET AND NEWSOM IN ISLAMABAD, JACOMET NOW SEES IT AS PROBABLY NOT A WISE MOVE FOR HIM TO MEET WITH NEWSOM PRIOR TO HIS MEETING WITH AGHA SHAHI (HE APPEARED TO BE UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM SOUTOU TO NOT MEET WITH NEWSOM).

AFTER EMBOFF PRESSED THE BENEFITS OF SUCH A MEETING, JACOMET AGREED THAT A FINAL DECISION ON SUCH A MEETING SHOULD BE MADE IN ISLAMABAD AT THE TIME AND THROUGH CONTACT BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND AMERICAN AMBASSADORS. JACOMET SAID HE WISHED TO SUGGEST THAT HE WOULD WELCOME AMBASSADOR HUMMEL'S CONTACTING THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR AND PERHAPS PASSING ON ADVICE THAT MIGHT BE HELPFUL TO JACOMET ON THE RESULTS OF THE NEWSOM DISCUSSIONS IN ISLAMABAD. JACOMET FELT HIS MEETING WITH NEWSOM WOULD CERTAINLY BECOME KNOWN TO THE GOP AND WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE CONSTRUCTIVE TO HIS APPROACH TO THE GOP.

G. REF A MENTIONED JACOMET'S INTENDED VISIT ON MONDAY, JULY 10, TO TEHRAN. JACOMET LED US TO BELIEVE THAT THIS WOULD BE CANCELLED DUE TO THE POSTPONEMENT

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OF THE VISIT TO ISLAMABAD. HOWEVER, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN TEHRAN URGED JACOMET TO KEEP HIS APPOINTMENT IN TEHRAN WITH HOVEYDA. HE INFORMED EMBOFF THAT HE HAD, IN FACT, MADE THE TRIP AND THAT HE AND THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN TEHRAN SPENT AN HOUR WITH HOVEYDA. HOVEYDA WAS NOT FORTHCOMING ABOUT IRANIAN POTENTIAL TO CONTRIBUTE TO PAKISTAN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN THE EVENT THE REPROCESSING PLANT WAS STOPPED. HOVEYDA DID SAY HE WOULD CONSULT WITH THE SHAH AND JACOMET WOULD

HEAR BACK PROBABLY BY THURSDAY, JULY 13, OF THE SHAH'S REACTION TO JACOMET'S REQUEST THAT HE BE PERMITTED TO STATE TO THE PAKS THAT IRAN AS WELL AS THE US WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO CONTRIBUTE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN THE EVENT THAT WORK ON THE REPROCESSING PLANT STOPPED.

4. COMMENT: JACOMET'S APPROACH, WHEN THE FACE-SAVING AND OTHER TRAPPINGS ARE CLEARED AWAY, SHOWS A FIRM FRENCH DECISION TO STOP FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN THE PROJECT WITH MINIMUM INJURY TO FRENCH REPUTATION AS A
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SUPPLIER AND ITS RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN. FROM A PRACTICAL POINT OF VIEW, WE BELIEVE THERE HAVE BEEN NO SHIPMENTS OF SENSITIVE MATERIALS FROM FRANCE FOR THE PAST SINCE MID-JULY 1977. THUS THE FRENCH ACTION NOW NECESSARY TO GET OUT OF THE PROJECT IS TO BRING HOME THE TWO ON-SITE TECHNICIANS AND STOP TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PARIS LIAISON OFFICE OF THE PAEC. ON THE PAK SIDE - IF THE GOP DOES EVENTUALLY STOP WORK ON THE PLANT - A PROBLEM EXISTS ON HOW MUCH FURTHER TIME IS NEEDED TO REACH A CONVENIENT POINT IN CONSTRUCTION TO PERMIT "MOTHBALLING" THE PARTIALLY CONSTRUCTED FACILITY. AT THAT POINT THE USG MIGHT CONSIDER OFFERING THE PAKS SOME TECHNICAL ADVICE ON "MOTHBALLING"; IT WOULD BE IN LINE WITH OUR NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES AND GIVE US THE FULL STORY ON THE STATUS OF THE PLANT.

5. AT THIS POINT WE BELIEVE WE HAVE DONE WHAT WE CAN IN PREPARING FOR THE MEETINGS IN ISLAMABAD DURING JULY 14-19. WHILE A WARM FIRE FOR THE FEET IN PARIS THESE DAYS IS A WELCOME EVENT, NEVERTHELESS WE HAVE PRESSED JACOMET ON THE CLARITY OF THE FRENCH DECISION WE BELIEVE NECESSARY. WE JOIN THE DEPARTMENT IN ITS TOAST TO NEWSOM'S SUCCESS (REF A, PARA 6).
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Message Attributes

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